

Città & Storia



01 10

Città & Storia

Direzione

DONATELLA CALABRÌ, Università IUAV di Venezia
CARLO M. TRAVAGLINI, Università «Roma Tre»

Redazione

CLAUDIA CONFORTI, Università di Roma «Tor Vergata»
ALBERTO GROHMANN, Università di Perugia
DEREK KEENE, University of London
PAOLA LANARO, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia
BRIEF MARIN, Université de Provence
LUCA MOLARELLI, Università di Milano «Bicocca»
ROBERTA MORELLI, Università di Roma «Tor Vergata»
LUCIA NUTI, Università di Pisa
CARLOS SAMBRICIO, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid
ROSA TAMBORRINO, Politecnico di Torino
GUIDO ZUCCONI, Università IUAV di Venezia

Segreteria di redazione

ANNA ROSA ANGIO-SABINA MILEGA

Corrispondenti Scientifici

MADRICE AYMARD, EHESS, Paris
JEAN-FRANÇOIS CHAUVARI, École française de Rome
MATTHEW DAVIES, Centre for Metropolitan History, London
DIRK DE MEYER, Ghent University
JOSEF EHMER, Universität Wien
DAVID H. FRIEDMAN, MIT, Cambridge (Ma)
BERNARD GAUTHIER, Université Lyon-III «Jean Moulin»
ENRICO IACHELLO, Università di Catania
HIDENORI JINNAI, Hosei University, Tokyo
MIGUEL ANGEL LADERO QUESADA, Univ. Complutense, Madrid
DANIELE MANACORDA, Università «Roma Tre»
ANGELA MARINO, Università de L'Aquila
PAOLA PAVAN, Archivio Storico Capitolino, Roma
WALTER ROSSA FERREIRA DA SILVA, Universidade de Coimbra
ALISON SMITH, Wagner College, New York
EUGENIO SONNINO, Università di Roma «La Sapienza»
PETER STABEL, University of Antwerp
ROSEMARY SWEET, Centre for Urban History, Leicester
PAUL ZANKER, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

Sede Redazione: Laboratorio di Analisi Regionale, Dipartimento di Economia, Università «Roma Tre»,
via Ostiense, n. 139 | 00154 Roma | Tel. +39.06.57334016, Fax +39.06.57334030

e-mail: cittaestoria@uniroma3.it | www.croma.uniroma3.it

Editore: Università Roma Tre-CROMA, via Ostiense, 139 | 00154 Roma, tel. 06.57334016 | Fax 06.57334030
pubblicazioni.croma@uniroma3.it

Proposte di contributi, manoscritti e pubblicazioni per recensione vanno inviati a Carlo M. Travaglini, CROMA,
via Ostiense 139 | 00154 Roma | e-mail: travagli@uniroma3.it | cittaestoria@uniroma3.it

Tutte le proposte di pubblicazione di saggi sono valutate secondo il criterio internazionale del *blind referee*.

La rivista è pubblicata in collaborazione tra l'ASSOCIAZIONE ITALIANA DI STORIA URBANA (AISU)
e l'UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI ROMA TRE (CROMA e DIPARTIMENTO DI ECONOMIA)



Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in: HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS

I sommari e gli abstracts di «Città e Storia», sono consultabili sui siti:

www.croma.uniroma3.it | <http://www.storiaurbana.org/>

Abbonamento 2010: Italia euro 50,00; Estero euro 75,00;

Gli abbonamenti vanno sottoscritti a «Università Roma Tre-CROMA», via Ostiense, 139 | 00154 Roma

tel. 06.57334016 | fax 06.57334030 | croma@uniroma3.it | I versamenti possono essere effettuati sull'International Bank Account Number (IBAN) IT53W 03002 03252 000400014281 - BIC: BRCOMITR1108 intestato a Università Roma Tre, indicando sempre la causale di versamento.

Per l'acquisto di singoli fascicoli rivolgersi a Università Roma Tre-CROMA, ai recapiti sopraindicati.

Progetto grafico e impaginazione: Emiliano Martina

© 2010 Università Roma Tre-CROMA

I diritti di traduzione, riproduzione e adattamento totale o parziale con qualsiasi mezzo (compresi i microfilm e le copie fotostatiche) sono riservati per tutti i Paesi.

Autorizzazione del Tribunale di Roma n.503/06 dell'1/8/06. Direttore responsabile: Carlo M. Travaglini

Il fascicolo è stato chiuso in tipografia il 30/07/2010. Stampa presso SpedalgrafStampa srl, via E. Bartolozzi, 13 - 00133 - Roma

ISSN 1828-6364

Città & Storia

Anno V, n.1

gennaio-giugno 2010

SOMMARIO

Studi di storiografia urbana

C. BILLEN-M. BOONE, <i>L'histoire urbaine en Belgique : construire l'après-Pirennie entre tradition et rénovation</i>	pag. 3
F.-J. RUGGIU, <i>L'histoire urbaine en France dans les années 2000</i>	» 23
L. KLUSÁKOVÁ, <i>Urban History in the Context of Czech Historiography and Social Sciences</i>	» 55
J. MATHIEU-R. FURTER, <i>Urban Development in Early Modern Europe: the Significance of Altitude</i>	» 71
M. IULIANO, <i>Le città di carta del Touring Club Italiano</i>	» 85

Saggi

I. BEVILACQUA, <i>Acque e mulini nella Roma del Seicento</i>	» 99
G. VERTECCHI, <i>L'«azienda de' pubblici biscotti» a Venezia tra XVII e XVIII secolo</i>	» 141
C. SAMBRICIO, <i>Arcades in Early Nineteenth-Century Madrid</i>	» 159
A. CURRELI, <i>La ciudad Güell: un fallimento di Gaudí?</i>	» 183
F. SALSANO, <i>La sistemazione degli sfrattati dall'area dei Fori Imperiali e la nascita delle borgate nella Roma fascista</i>	» 207

Informazioni

<i>Fuori dall'ordinario: la città di fronte a catastrofi ed eventi eccezionali (call for session/paper)</i>	» 229
---	-------

Schede

MICHAËL DARIN, <i>La comédie urbaine</i> - (G. Mezzalana); PIRRO LIGORIO, <i>Libro di diversi terremoti</i> , a cura di E. Guidoboni - (G. Vertecchi).....	» 231
--	-------

Abstracts

» 235

Riferimenti Autori

» 239

ARCADES IN EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY MADRID

In 1859, when the Barcelona City Council held a contest for the Expansion [*Ensanche*] of the city, Madrid's central government overrode the Barcelona municipal government's decision to award the project to Rovira, opting instead for the Plan of Ildefonso Cerdá. The backdrop for this decision and the successful completion of Cerdá's *Ensanche* for Barcelona includes Castro's plan for Madrid, **Holbrech's proposal** for Berlin, the reforms of the Ring in Venice, Beruto's plan for Milan, and Haussmann's reforms for Paris: all major urban reforms put into place between 1858 and 1862.

The prioritization of Cerdá's Plan over that of Rovira has not been thoroughly studied by urban historians. Largely understood as a symptom of the power struggles between Madrid and Barcelona, the fact that the decision was ultimately made by the Spanish Parliament's Commission on Public Works, a body which because of its legislative authority had control over all Spanish *Ensanches*, merits attention. The details of the impact of this legislative body on Spanish urbanism is understudied because urbanism in the first half of the nineteenth century itself has been understudied as well. In our preoccupation with understanding what one might call «triumphant moments», neither the genesis nor the genealogy of significant, new forms of thought about urban space have been thoroughly understood. In urban history it would appear that between the transformations proposed by José Bonaparte and Cerdá's proposal for Barcelona or Castro's for Madrid an intellectual vacuum exists that might lead one to believe that little or nothing worthy of comment had occurred. There has been a failure to account for the fact that it was precisely during this time that an epistemological rupture occurred between an old form of knowledge and the concerns that characterized the urban changes of the 1850s.



PLANO
de
MADRID
Fortificaciones y guarniciones
en
1807

Why is an understanding of this issue important? What happened, which topics were discussed, and which discussions contributed to the debate on urbanism in the first half of the century? These questions deserve to be answered for the following reasons: first, because we learn that in different countries around 1860 there was a similar response to the same problem that suggests a common sense of unease and a desire for solutions that was an inherent part of Western European modern culture. Secondly, because the demographic expansion that took place between 1814 and 1869 changed the image of the existing historical centers. Landowners proposed the construction of multi-story buildings, thereby modifying the idea of what housing should be. The monied classes rejected the proximity of the lower classes, a proximity produced by the compartmentalization of existing buildings. This rejection resulted in the enactment of the concept of zoning by use, or, in essence, their moving from what was then the historical city center to newly-constructed, exclusive neighborhoods outside the city walls. Thirdly, an investigation of this issue brings to the fore the importance of the first real estate companies, which were put in place because they were capable of investing in land for an urban development which would soon take place on a significant scale¹.

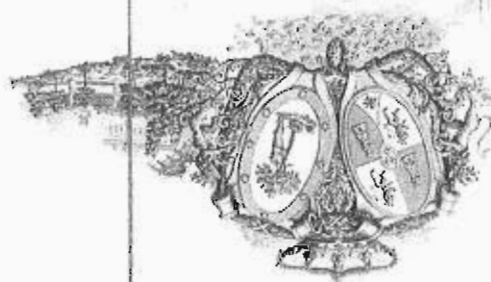
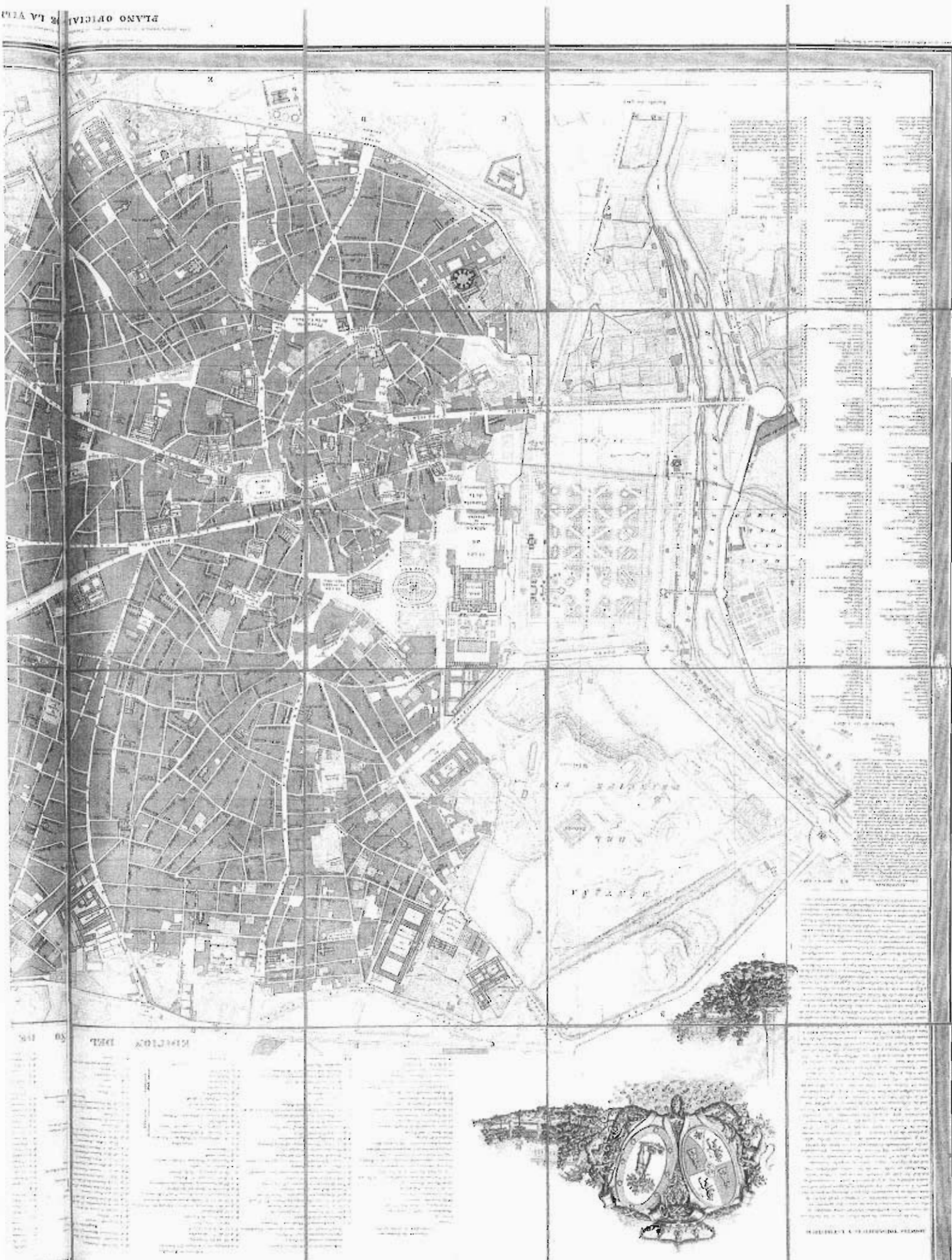
¹ To understand the reality of Madrid in this period, see the comments in the press on Gil del Palacio's model *Descripción de la maqueta 'modelo de Madrid'* in «El Correo», 293, 26 May 1830, *Conclusión del elogiado 'modelo de Madrid'* also in «El Correo», 389, 5 January 1831 or «Las Cartas Españolas», 2 February 1832. See, for example, *Plano topográfico de Madrid*, «La Abeja, Diario Universal», 11 August 1835; on the opinion of visitors to Madrid, see «El Corresponsal», 16 June 1839; on the situation in the area surrounding Puerta de Atocha and Alcalá Street, see «Correo Literario y Mercantil», n. 14, 13 August 1828, the comments in «El mundo tal como es, o todos locos», nn. 18, 20 and 30, 1828, on the theaters that characterized the zone of Sol and Carretas or the descriptions of the Pradera of San Isidro, Vista Alegre, Prado, Delicias, S. Antonio de la Florida, Virgen del Puerto, Tejares, Retiro, Plaza de Oriente, Puerta del Sol, where the location of cafés, pool halls, boarding houses, and theaters is remarked upon. «El mundo tal como es, o todos locos», n. 11, 1829 describes the roads, as does «El Correo», 275, 14 April 1830. On the negative aspects of Madrid see the comments of the «Curioso Parlante» on Toledo Street («Cartas Españolas», 9 February 1832), «El Mensajero de la Corte», 10 June and 4 July 1834 or «La Revista Española», 13 May 1834. On the situation in the outer neighborhoods, see «La Revista Española», 3 March 1834 and on sanitary conditions «Eco del Comercio», 7 July 1834 or «El Mundo», 8 April 1837. Likewise, *Apuntes sobre las principales causas que han influido en el mal estado de riqueza, población y aspecto público en que se encuentra Madrid con relación a las demás naciones de Europa*, an unpublished manuscript dated 2 February 1846 that can be found at the SHM (number 3-3-8-7).

previous page

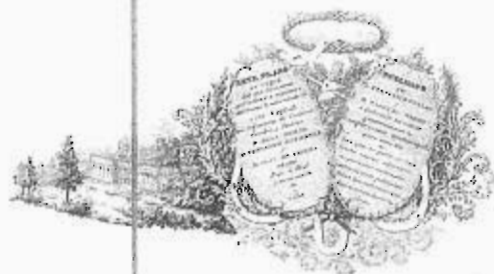
Fig. 1 - *Plano de Madrid*. "Fortificaciones reguladas en 1837".

next page

Fig. 2 - *Plano de Madrid*. Publicado por Francisco Coello y Pascual Madoz "Plano oficial de la Villa", 1848.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

- INDICE**
1. Madrid
2. Alcalá de Henares
3. Guadalajara
4. Segovia
5. Valladolid
6. Burgos
7. Pamplona
8. San Sebastián
9. Bayona
10. San Juan de Puerto Rico
11. Manila
12. Filipinas
13. Cuba
14. Santo Domingo
15. Puerto Rico
16. Guayana Francesa
17. Guayana Británica
18. Guayana Neerlandesa
19. Guayana Americana
20. Guayana Portuguesa
21. Guayana Italiana
22. Guayana Alemana
23. Guayana Japonesa
24. Guayana Rusa
25. Guayana China
26. Guayana India
27. Guayana Australiana
28. Guayana Nueva Zelanda
29. Guayana Sudafricana
30. Guayana Argentina
31. Guayana Brasil
32. Guayana Colombia
33. Guayana Venezuela
34. Guayana Ecuador
35. Guayana Perú
36. Guayana Chile
37. Guayana Uruguay
38. Guayana Paraguay
39. Guayana Uruguay
40. Guayana Paraguay



NOTAS HISTÓRICAS

Madrid, capital de España, fundada en el año 900 por el conde de Castilla, D. Velasco, y elevada a ciudad por el rey D. Alfonso VI en el año 1085. En el año 1561, por el papa Pío IV, se le concedió el título de ciudad imperial.

NOTAS HISTÓRICAS

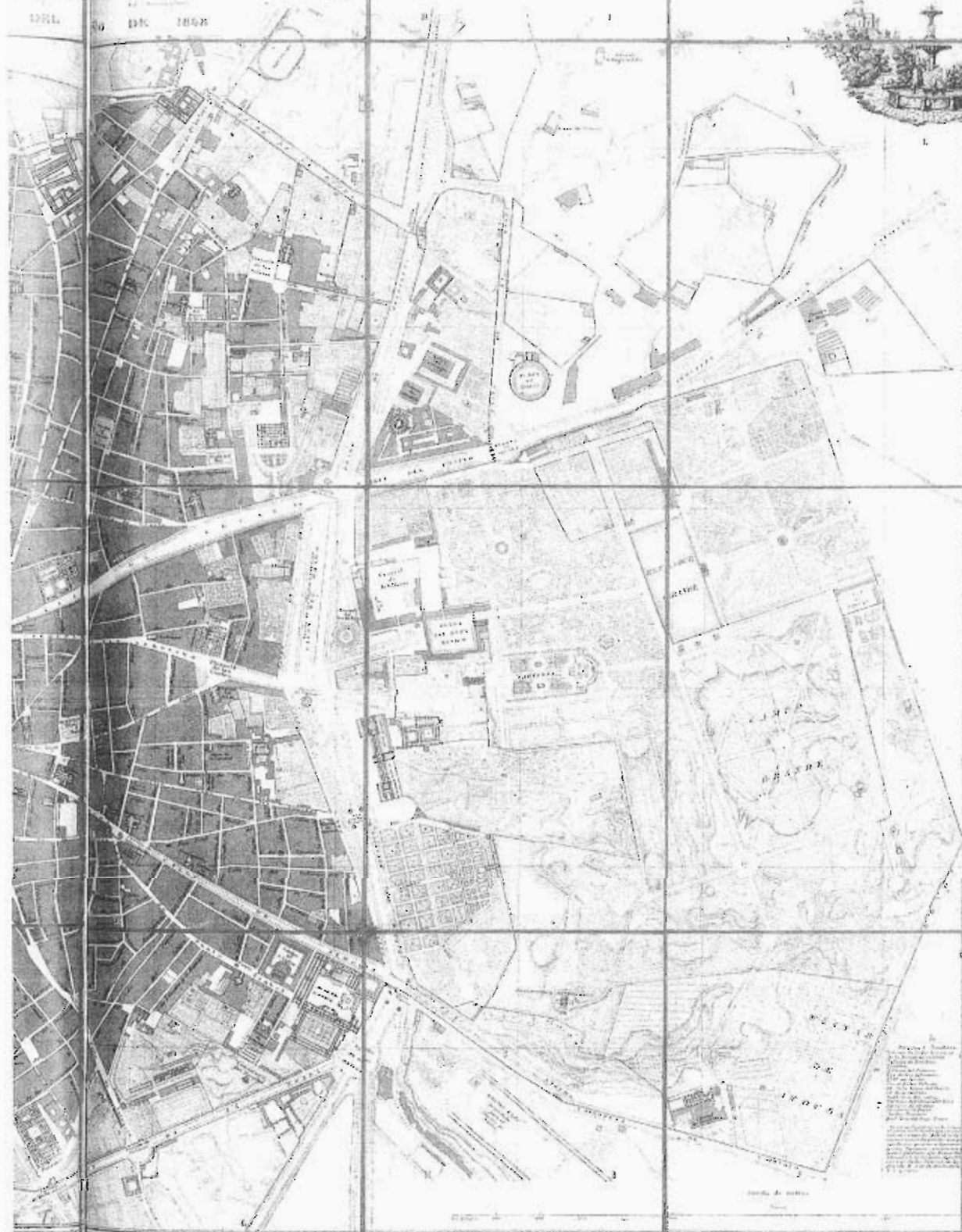
Madrid, capital de España, fundada en el año 900 por el conde de Castilla, D. Velasco, y elevada a ciudad por el rey D. Alfonso VI en el año 1085. En el año 1561, por el papa Pío IV, se le concedió el título de ciudad imperial.

NOTAS HISTÓRICAS

Madrid, capital de España, fundada en el año 900 por el conde de Castilla, D. Velasco, y elevada a ciudad por el rey D. Alfonso VI en el año 1085. En el año 1561, por el papa Pío IV, se le concedió el título de ciudad imperial.

NOTAS HISTÓRICAS

Madrid, capital de España, fundada en el año 900 por el conde de Castilla, D. Velasco, y elevada a ciudad por el rey D. Alfonso VI en el año 1085. En el año 1561, por el papa Pío IV, se le concedió el título de ciudad imperial.



These three changes converged at an extraordinary moment in time and coincided in turn with a three-part phenomenon: in the first place, since the construction of the railroad necessitated a legal instrument – the Law of Expropriations [*Ley de expropiaciones*] – making it possible to use hitherto sacred «private property» in the name of an imprecise «common good» or «social interest», many people invoked this type of law as a way of acquiring new land. Secondly, the selling of what were called «National Goods» gave a profit to those who acquired land inside the city walls. Thirdly, demand for land outside the city walls which produced, as a consequence, a rapid increase in the price of land, such that a piece of land purchased in 1827 for 5,500 *reales* per *fanega* [a parcel of land of about 1.5 acres] could be resold, 30 years later, for fifteen times the original price².

If José Bonaparte's policy of «National Goods» produced land to carry out the reforms promoted by his government, the ecclesiastical confiscations [*desamortizaciones*] that took place between 1820 and 1830 weakened the idea of the State as a sphere of political power and strengthened the idea of a liberal society. This distinction, moreover, explains why control of the land was modified and why the task was assigned to a middle class capable of channeling this type of investment³. The newly-acquired land became a desired commodity, and those who did not attend the auctions would soon seek ways to build outside the city walls. If 160 properties were confiscated during what has been termed the Liberal Triennium (1820-1823), Mendizábal's confiscations (between 1835 and 1837) brought in 540; and if the first auctions attracted only small buyers (who, investing in one or two houses, saw the rental properties as capital income), from this date on the procedure changed, and those who invested in the confiscation process were fully aware that urban land had become an object of intensifying speculation⁴.

² On the first *Ensanche* projects, see C. SAMBRICIO, *Tres planes de Madrid en torno a 1860*, «Ilustración de Madrid», 2, 2007 and ID., *Idcología, política y especulación urbana en Madrid en la primera mitad del XIX: el caso de la Castellana*, «Quintana, Revista de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela», 3, 2004, pp. 13-24.

³ C. SAMBRICIO, *La fortuna de un Decreto Imperial: las consecuencias en Madrid de la «Reducción de conventos y monasterios»* in *Catalogo de la Exposición Madrid 1808. Ciudad y protagonistas*, Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2008, pp. 83-89. Likewise, ID., *Fiesta y Arquitectura efímera durante el reinado de José in Actas del Congreso La Guerra de Napoleón en España: reacciones, imágenes y consecuencias*, Alicante, 2009.

⁴ S. SEGURA, *La desamortización en la Provincia de Madrid*, Madrid, 1969 gives the figure of 540 properties sold. But «*La Iberia*» 12 August 1842 pointed out that the sale of national goods in June was 860 properties, valued at 11,519,151 reales and resold for 37,519,151 reales. In Madrid the ecclesiastical confiscation of 1836 meant the demolition of the Convento de la Merced, Agustinos Recoletos, La Victoria, Espíritu Santo, San Bernardo, Capuchinos de la Paciencia, Agonizantes de calle de Atocha, Monjas de Constantinopla, Magdalena, Los Ángeles, Santa Ana, Pinto, Caballero

Massive immigration meant an increased demand for housing outside the city walls and the intensity of construction work carried out in those peripheral zones was reflected in the spectacular increase in the number of building permits granted by Madrid's City Council. For example: from an annual average of 39 between 1840 and 1841 to an average of 137 between 1842 and 1856⁵. Not only did the price of land situated outside of the historic walls increase dramatically, but also in the interior of the city property values doubled for the land near the Puerta del Sol that went up for auction. Seeking to alleviate the problem, the Law of April 9, 1842 granted estate owners complete liberty to set the price of rent, which, in short order, doubled or even tripled, yielding a decrease in demand.

Asserting in no uncertain terms that the purpose of construction was to invest capital that would yield a secure profit, Ildefonso Cerdá wrote in his *Teoría de la viabilidad urbana y Reforma de la de Madrid* that

the problem that everyone attempting to construct a building raises to the technician worth his trust is this...given the size of the construction site, given its location, given the amount of rent that people are accustomed to paying on that street, how to construct a building which, taking into consideration the cost of the land and of the construction, guarantees the greatest possible return on the investment⁶.

de Gracia, Las Baronesas and the Parish of El Salvador and, in the area around Sol, San Felipe de Neri, Victoria, and San Felipe el Real. The press begins to publish pieces about the very concept of property (for example, *Propiedad del suelo* in «*Cartas Españolas*», nn. 2 and 15, 5 March 1831; *Valor de la tierra* also in «*Cartas Españolas*», 20 or *El concepto de propiedad* in «*El Universal*», 6 April 1834) as well as pieces on the Law of Expropriations of 1836 and the urban situation («*La Verdad*», 1 April 1837); on the need of the Government to have recourse to the private sector to undertake urban improvements see «*Revista de Madrid*», 1 March 1839; on landowners in Madrid, see, «*Iberia*», 13 December 1842 and how they should behave at the auctions, «*Revista de Madrid*», 1 July 1842; on the utility and purpose of the confiscated of buildings, see «*El Eco del Comercio*», 26 January 1836. Simon Segura first and then C. DIEZ DE BALDEÓN, *Arquitectura y clases sociales en el Madrid del siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1986, p. 47, or A. BAHAMONDE, *Burguesía, especulación y cuestión social en Madrid en el siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1978, p. 188, have highlighted, in excellent studies, how, after the confiscation process, a group of landowners forms beginning in 1837 from large numbers of urban land that launch the real-estate business. They give a list of the principal buyers; they point out who bought land for between 500,000 reales and 1,000,000 reales and those who bought land for more than 1,000,000 reales. On the demolition of San Felipe el Real, Merced, Basílios, Capuchinos de la Paciencia, Capuchinos del Prado, Victoria and Jesús see «*El Nacional*», 16 February 1836; on the demolition of the convent Capuchinos de la Paciencia (its site was used to construct the public plaza today known as Plaza Bilbao), «*El Duende Liberal*», 19 March 1837.

⁵ A. BAHAMONDE, *Burguesía, especulación y cuestión social en Madrid*, cit., pp. 149-150 pointed out the speculation by some companies, like Bonaplante, which, between 1836 and 1862, increased the price of Santa Bárbara twenty-five times.

⁶ I. CERDÁ, in his *Teoría de la viabilidad urbana y Reforma de la de Madrid* commented on the effects of the Law of 9 April 1842 on the price of rent.

At this time landowners, realizing that they could make as much money through infrastructure as they could through the construction of rental houses, opted to develop more ambitious, all-encompassing projects through which they could «transform the city». Investments from the private sector, centered initially on infrastructure (water supply, sewage systems, street lighting, street alignment and paving, the construction of covered markets, cemeteries, charitable organizations, plazas...) soon turned to an interior reform capable of reaffirming the value of the historical city⁷.

Beginning in 1840, many older convents were demolished to build commercial spaces. The situation was consolidated in 1844 when, with the moderates back in power, the middle class sought to legitimize the profits it had earned during the revolutionary process by investing in the construction of public works, just as happened in Louis Phillipe's Paris, described by Kracauer in his *Offenbach*⁸. Capital understood how easy it was to work in the city, and

⁷ On the activity carried out by private capital, between 1824 and 1840, the water supply, paving, sewage, gas lighting, street-alignment, proposals to transform the historical center of the city, or neighborhoods with residential dwellings, see C. SAMBRICIO, *La construcción del Madrid Liberal: 1824-1860*, forthcoming from the Casa de Velazquez, Madrid, in *La construcción de la ciudad liberal*. Important and little studied is the division into quarters, neighborhoods, and parishes that it proposed between 1834 and 1846, a division which coincided with the new electoral districts: analyzing the criteria would explain the interests of the City Council and those of its opponents. See *División de Madrid en cuatro cuarteles*, «La Revista Española», 30 July 1834; *División de Madrid en 20 parroquias*, «El Duende Liberal», 21 September 1836; *El nuevo arreglo de parroquias conforme a la división civil de Madrid*, «Eco del Comercio», 21 January 1836; *División de la capital en distritos electorales*, «El Corresponsal», 23 July 1839; *División de Madrid en distritos*, «El Mundo», 23 July 1836; *División de Madrid en seis demarcaciones para los seis juzgados de primera instancia*, «El Mundo», 2 August 1839; *Sobre la división administrativa-territorial de parroquias en Madrid*, «El Católico», 23 February 1841; *Distritos de Madrid*, «La Iberia», 22 January 1843; *Pronta división de la capital en diez distritos*, «El Español», 20 July 1845; *División de Madrid por distritos*, «El Español», 21 September 1845; *La alcaldía constitucional publica la nueva división de Madrid*, «El Español», 1 October 1845; *Se ha realizado la división de Madrid*, «El Español», 14 October 1845; *División de distritos electorales de Madrid*, «El Imparcial», 2 December 1846; *Distritos electorales de Madrid: del Río, de Maravillas, del Barquillo, de Visuillas, de Lavapies y del Prado*, «El Popular», 3 December 1846.

⁸ On the Paris of those years, see the studies by Roncayolo as well as the analysis of S. KRACAUER, *Jacques Offenbach and the Paris of His Time*, MIT, Boston, Zone Books, 2002. On the knowledge of Spanish architects, engineers, and investors of Haussmann's Paris (the Paris of the Universal Exposition) see J. BURY, *La idea de Progreso*, Madrid, Alianza, 1971, p. 295 and the ignored comments that José Echegaray made after visiting the Expositions in London and Paris: *Recuerdos*, t. II, pp. 129-186 and 309-333, as well as «Revista de Obras Publicas», VIII, 1860, p. 184 and X, 1862, p. 136. On the expositions in 1861 and 1865 see «Revista de Obras Publicas», X, 1862, p. 136; XIII, 1865, pp. 23-24, 58-59 and 301; XIV, 1866, pp. 116 and 128. F.M. TUBINO commented in his *Estudios contemporáneos (Los intereses morales y materiales*, Sevilla 1865, p. 57) his visit to the International Exposition in London.

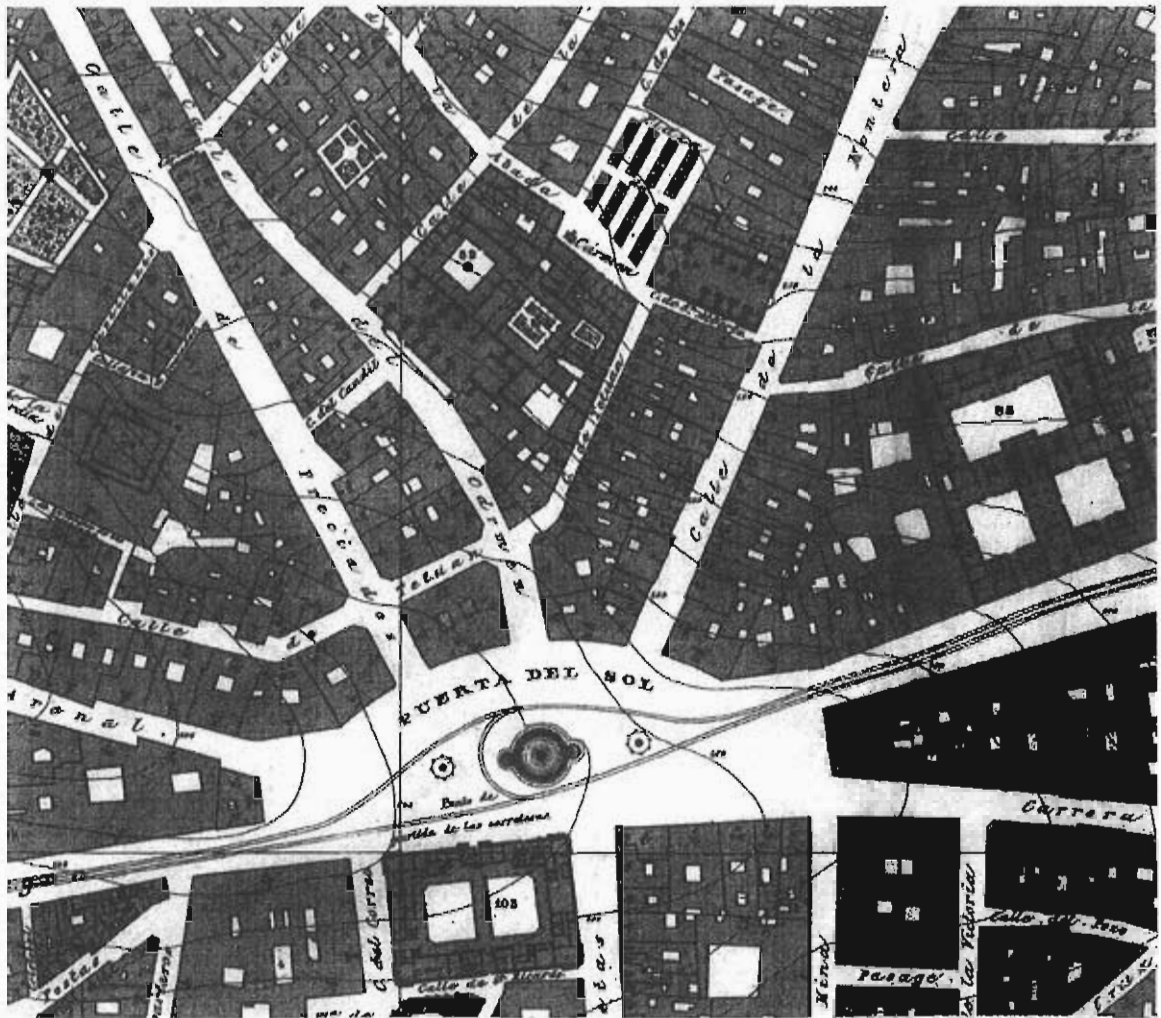


Fig. 3 - Plano de Madrid de Ibañez Ibero. Detalle, 1872.

the expectations raised by both short- and longer-term speculative ventures produced large projects that no longer had anything to do with small reforms. As a result, between 1844 and 1847, a total of 48 significant investment groups were created in Madrid, the objectives of which were, purely and simply, property speculation and profit⁹.

⁹ *El Anuario Estadístico* of 1868 (Madrid, 1868) points out that, between 1844 and 1847, 48 anonymous societies – the majority of the fictitious – were constituted in Madrid, the objectives of which were simply speculative. On clerical expropriations, see «El Amigo del País», 1 March 1845. It is impossible (because of the frequency of the topic) to provide even minimum reference to the articles published between 1834 and 1846, on the utility of the confiscated convents or the avatars of the policy of “Bienes Nacionales” or “National Goods” Consult «La Revista Española»; «Eco del Comercio»; «El Mundo»; «El Duende Liberal»; «El Porvenir»; «El Pueblo Soberano»;

In the mid-1840s, Madrid's image had changed from that described two decades earlier by Mesonero Romanos in his *Manual de Madrid*. There were plans to turn the Retiro into a new *Tuilleries* and to urbanize the modest precipice on Embajadores Street as well as the stretch of land **between** the streets of Toledo and Mayor; the possibility of the recuperation of the Moorish Quarter was **being** studied; a viaduct over Segovia Street was proposed, as well as the extension of the lateral wings of the Royal Palace, which would form two galleries and demolish the old Royal Armory; there was a debate about whether to extend Mayor Street to Cuesta de la Vega and the construction of a cathedral¹⁰. In contrast to those who had acquired land in the historic city center, others invested outside the city walls, taking advantage of the Order of 1834 by the Mayor - the Marquis of Pontejos - to extend the Castellana to the north; French and Belgian capital invested in land on both sides of the street, in spite of the fact that the large property owned by the Duchess of Abrantes forced them to limit themselves to the area between Santa Bárbara and Recoletos. Thus, in 1837, the construction of a new community in Chamberí was proposed and, shortly thereafter, a real-estate company, *El Centro Industrial y Mercantil*, **bought** the Santa Eulalia district next to the Castellana in order to build between 3,000 and 3,500 working-class residences. In 1845 a plan was proposed to join Chamberí with the city center, and 1854 saw Madrid's first *Ensanche*: the urbanization of the area between Santa Bárbara and Bilbao¹¹.

Investing outside the former historic walls was a risky business; capital therefore opted for the easier task of working within the city, and the expectations

«El Cangrejo»; «El Católico»; «La Legalidad»; «La Iberia»; «El Trono»; «Revista de Madrid» or «El Pensamiento de la Nación».

¹⁰ The figures appear in Mesonero Romanos, whose work is indispensable for understanding the reality **of the city** between 1831 and 1865. **Though various** studies of his work have **appeared** in recent years, review *Memorias de un sesentón, Madrid 1850* (particularly chapter 15, *La carga concejil*), *Antiguo Madrid* (Madrid, 1861), *Proyecto de mejoras generales de Madrid presentadas en mayo de 1846 al Ayuntamiento* (Madrid, 1849) or *Trabajos no coleccionados. Reforma de Madrid y su administración*, Madrid 1903, which collects articles from «La Ilustración», «Diario de Avisos», «Semanario Pintoresco Español» and «El Museo Universal».

¹¹ **On Chamberí and the Ensanche** project, see note 2. The «Semanario de Agricultura y Artes», 12 September 1833 and «Fco del Comercio», 5 June 1835 comment on the situation in northern Madrid and on the need to extend Castellana Street. On Chamberí see «El Siglo XIX», 11 January 1834. The construction of an obelisk in the Fuente Castellana appears repeatedly: see «El Tiempo», 9 January 1834 or «El Nacional», 24 April 1836. On Chamberí's desire to become a part of Madrid, see «La Iberia», 27 August 1842. On Merlo's Ensanche, see J. LEAL, *Un plan de ampliación de Madrid en 1846*, «Revista de Estudios de Vida Local», 86, March-April 1956, pp. 222-7. To understand the urban situation in Madrid, it is necessary to know its real population. See Madoz's commentary on the reliability of the 1825 census (*Diccionario Geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar*, Madrid, Impr. de D. Madoz, 1848, p. 78).

raised by short- and medium-term speculative ventures resulted in a number of ambitious projects. This was a period during which an interventionist government, together with a budget-less City Council, proposed ambitious plans from the Ministry of Public Works, inviting the Council to take advantage of the provisions of the 1836 Law of Forced Expropriation that made possible the acquisition of land slated for interior reforms¹². The Government and City Council together passed ordinances that satisfied the interests of a middle class that sought immediate profits, and it was precisely this nascent middle class that laid the foundation for a series of new technologies – the codification of urban knowledge – that was capable of confronting new problems and, as a result, offering new solutions.

Projects to reform the historic districts of the city funded by foreign capital were a clear reflection of this. For example, the Manby, Partington, and Cia Company (British capital) combined the construction of housing with the provision of gas for lighting¹³, and, at the same time, proposed to reform the Puerta

¹² In February of 1843 an Improvement Plan to the Constitutional Town Hall was presented («La Iberia», 8 Feb. 1843). In a Madrid where a plaza for military exercises was being planned in Atocha («El Corresponsal», 15 Feb. 1841) Mendizábal proposed extending the Prado up to Recoletos («La Iberia», 9 Jan. 1843) and the construction of open-air dining areas or a theater in the empty space next to the Church of the Good News [Iglesia del Buen Suceso] («La Iberia», 9 Jan. and 18 Mar. 1843), the main streets were being lit by gas lamps («El Agente Mercantil e Industrial», 14 Nov. 1842) and new trolley lines were being opened («La Guindilla», 20 Apr. 1843 and «La Iberia», 16 and 18 Mar. 1843). The reforms, indicates «El Español» (8 Aug. 1845) reflect that «the desire for new construction in those years was so strong in certain parts of Madrid that some of the owners of the old buildings who didn't even have any central open space available for new construction compensate for that lack by building additional floors onto those that had been built some time ago». Madrid, a city with 206,714 inhabitants («El Popular», 28 Sept. 1846) proposes a new bullfighting ring («El Español», 21 Jan. 1846), proposals for the Gas factory were in circulation («El Español», 23 Sept. 1845), there is noted interest on those who try to «buy the mountain of Príncipe Pío» («El Español», 5 Feb. 1846). Confirming that Madrid is transforming and growing – that is to say, that the zoning by use was becoming a reality – there exists not only the fact that there is an increased number of documented «loose women» («El Español», 1 May 1846) but news of the obligatory transfer of prostitution to the «low neighborhoods which understand the street; Daoiz, Dos de Mayo, Huerta del Valle, Huertas, Gobernador, Caravaca y Peñón» («El Español», 12 May 1846).

¹³ In April of 1855, Hamal and Manby presented a project for the Puerta del Sol (ASA 4-265-3, published by «La Ilustración» 10 and 17 September 1855) and in their *Memoria*, they requested authorization to auction the buildings (the site of the Hospital del Buen Suceso, a Court and Business Commission, as well as the Stock Exchange) that they had built. See in Biblioteca Palacio Real (Madrid) the pamphlet *Demanda presentada al Consejo Real a nombre de los Sres. Conde de Hamal y Eduardo O. Manby* 1857, sig. CAJ/POLLA/83. Ruiz Palomeque summarizes the various projects for the Puerta del Sol, detailing dates, size, and form: in barely six years, 11 projects were presented, with debate centering on both the form and size of the Plaza (which, from Hamal and Manby's proposal



Fig. 4 - Pasaje de la Paz. Calle de la Montera a Plaza del Carmen.

del Sol «at its own expense». In 1846, the investment group *La Urbana* was established, and Juan Álvarez Mendizábal – upon returning from exile – offered (with British capital) to transform the Puerta de Sol, suggesting as a form of payment both the granting of tracts of land and a toll on a newly constructed bridge¹⁴. Likewise, the French engineer Pirel proposed to connect the area of Atocha with the Carrera de Valencia, extend the Paseo del Prado, establish a route around Segovia Street, and reform the intersection of the important Atocha and Carretas thoroughfares¹⁵. Peyronet, the author of a project for Sol, wrote a *Memoria* about the conjoining of Sol with Santo Domingo and the Príncipe Pío train stations¹⁶, while Giraud Daguillon presented

to the Queen his proposal to turn Arenal Street into a large commercial passage. In addition to economic reasons, what is common to these projects (which were conceived to yield short-term income) is that each proposed to modify the area around the Puerta del Sol¹⁷.

Between 1843 and 1868, three large urban reform projects of very different natures were proposed. First, the reform of the Puerta del Sol, or, what is in essence the same thing, a revalorization of the central historic district of the city;

in 1855 to Lucio del Valle's, more than doubled), but also on its impact on adjacent sites. See *op.cit.*, p. 238 and 244. On the definitive Project for the Plaza, see the «Revista de Obras Públicas», 28 June 1857.

¹⁴ ASA, Corregimiento 2-315-9 y 2-87-41. «Propuesta de Juan Álvarez Mendizábal al Alcalde, Conde de Vistahermosa, sobre una serie de mejoras de la capital» in F. MUÑO, *op. cit.*, p. 29, n. 6.

¹⁵ On foreign investment in Spain between 1820 and 1850, see A. DE OTAZU, *Los Rothschild y sus socios en España (1820-1850)*, Madrid, O. HS. Ediciones, 1987; on Madrid's image among foreigners, see R. PALOMEQUE, *El Madrid del siglo XIX visto por los extranjeros*, Madrid, 1978. On the projects for the transformation of Madrid and its interior reforms, see E. RUIZ PALOMEQUE, *Ordenación y transformaciones urbanas*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1976.

¹⁶ Juan Bautista Peyronet worked as an architect in Madrid, presenting the City Council with various projects for the construction of residential buildings on Mayor Street.

¹⁷ For more on Giraud Daguillon and Madrid see C. SAMBRICIO, *La construcción de la ciudad liberal: Madrid, 1859 y las propuestas de nuevos barrios*, «Anales de Historia del Arte, Universidad Complutense», 1, 2008, pp. 489-504.

second, the making of a new route (parallel to the Paseo del Prado, but on the western side of the city) that would connect the Puerta de Toledo with what is today the Plaza de España, facilitating the transportation of goods between Atocha, Delicias, Goya, Imperial, and Príncipe Pío train stations; and, finally, a preliminary plan for the *Ensanche*. In the 1840s, Merlo formalized his proposal for the northern *Ensanche*, which not only defined a new perimeter but also established a collection of first-order routes upon which he placed new neighborhoods. All of this happened at a time when the City Council lacked a definite image of the city, since neither Torija's nor Adermans's nor Villanueva's regulations had, in 1846, any legal resonance. It is true that in 1815 the City Council had drawn attention to the need for new regulations, but, thirty years later, a general project of street alignment had not yet been proposed, much less approved. For Mesonero Romanos, Fernández de los Ríos, or even Cerdá the urban image of Madrid had little in common with Hausmann's Paris, where the new streets that tore up the old historical quarter produced countless *Neuski perspectives*, as the press of the period put it. The press also noted that during the inauguration of Paris's Victoria Avenue by the Queen of England, large canvases of faux architecture were used to hide the fact that the façades of many buildings were still unfinished¹⁸.

In October of 1836, after the ecclesiastical confiscations and the demolition of the convents San Felipe Real and La Victoria, the Marquee of Pontejos suggested expanding the Puerta del Sol by swapping the plot of land that belonged to the Church and the Hospital del Buen Suceso (on the corner of Alcalá and San Jerónimo) for another one close by. Moving the hospital premises from the center of the city fit within the hygienistic logic of the period, while the reasons put forward by the hospital's sponsors, who sought to defend the existing situation, pointed out how the hospital «did not inconvenience the population and should not be removed from the populous area since it received personnel from the Royal House for the treatment of common and non-infectious diseases».

Concerned with transforming the reality of the city, the idea was to convert the Puerta del Sol into a center for traffic and commercial activity. In 1846 a Municipal Commission was established with the objective of defining Madrid's new **image**. Headed by Mesonero Romanos, it not only drew up new regulations but also penned three documents: one on street alignment; another on how to develop the outskirts **of the** city; and a third recommending a series of internal regulations to the City Council. Of the three, only the second was approved, in November of 1847, by the City Council, though Romanos used the discus-

¹⁸ «[I]l Universo Pintoresco», 30 September 1853 compares French urbanism with the situation in Madrid. See the comment in note 8.

sion as the basis for the articles he published in «La Ilustración» in 1851. In his *Manual de Madrid*, Romanos had proposed modifying the city's infrastructure, organizing covered markets, promoting the installation of electric lighting and a modern water supply, as well as the creation of new buildings, plazas, cemeteries, and charitable organizations. After becoming Regidor de Villa in 1846, however, Romanos emphasized the need for an interior reform of the city that would foster commercial activity, proposing a «commercial district» around the Puerta del Sol. Taking the Parisian project as a point of reference, he proposed a collection of arcades around Sol, a view that would reappear in his *Memoria explicativa del Plan General de Madrid de 1849*, his *Rápida ojeada sobre el estado de la capital y los medios de mejorarla*, and his *Proyecto de mejoras generales de Madrid presentado en el Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Madrid* in 1849. The same view would soon be taken up again by Ildefonso Cerdá in his study of Madrid.

Evaluating the reform of the city in terms of viability, Cerdá centered his analysis on elements such as the design of city blocks, street conjunctions [*embocaduras*] and intersections. Concerned with the medieval road system (with how to deal with street alignment), Cerdá carried out quantitative studies of the primary routes, contrasting length, median width, the surface of sidewalks and paved parts, emphasizing by way of conclusion the necessity of intervening in the historical quarter:

the current cities, daughters of chance circumstances, from their origin to the present, cannot continue on any longer in such culpable abandon. Science has raised its powerful voice, and from now on this same Science, friend and constant protector of humanity, should be consulted for the reform of the large, labyrinthine communities that past centuries have bequeathed to us, or for their enlargement when an excessive accumulation of inhabitants makes necessary an *Ensanche*, or for the establishment of new ones when special circumstances recommend it.

On the basis of this logic, various projects were proposed around 1854 for the reform of the Puerta del Sol which had become as much the place where «the administrative centers have been grouped together» as the point

where packs of idlers nearly impossible to find in other European countries gathered (time is what we have too much of in Spain, as Fernández de los Ríos would say); and if this is not so let those respond who, by national privilege, spend their lives hanging around in town squares, sunbathing on Church corners, or looking for shade in the entryway of the City Council Building.

These projects defined the Plaza not as a bureaucratic space but as an authentic center of urban activity.

Cerdá was the first to connect the new plan for the Puerta del Sol with a Parisian project:

the Emperor Napoleon III, wishing to renovate and improve the appearance of the capital of France, had agreed on and brought to effect the large street called Rivoli; seeing that, despite the years that had passed, construction had not been completed in its entirety... he sought, by trying to open Sebastopol Boulevard... not to limit the expropriation to the buildings or part of them... but rather to extend it to all buildings or parts of buildings which, because of their form or size after the demolition, would be incapable of supporting a beneficial building. In this way we know that, on both sides of the streets, there will be sites large enough to contain normal buildings. A similar solution has been employed in Madrid for the reform of the Puerta del Sol. The expropriation has not been limited to the line traced for this reform but has been extended to many other buildings located nearby with the goal of eliminating some of the various narrow streets that were there and regularizing the construction of the entirety of the new area.

The arcades, says Walter Benjamin in his *Illuminations*, multiplied in Paris in the fifteen years after 1822. They had their origin in the increasingly important fabric industry of that period; it was a «novelty» business where large quantities of goods were amassed. Over time, the arcades, admired by all, became a point of reference for foreigners who visited Paris, to such an extent that a *Visitors Guide* from the period noted how these arcades were

a new invention of industrial luxury, are glassed-in galleries, covered in marble, some placed end-to-end with others and whose owners have joined together for this speculation. The most elegant stores are located on both sides of the centrally-illuminated galleries, in such a way that the place is an authentic city, a world in miniature.

These arcades, Benjamin would point out, were the first gas-lit places and it was there that people gathered to admire this type of lighting.

Madrid's first gas-fired streetlights were installed in the area surrounding Sol. The question, «why arcades in the vicinity of the Puerta del Sol?» found an answer in the writing of Fernández de los Ríos who, in his *El Futuro Madrid* (1840), comments that «the administrative centers have been defined and grouped together in the area surrounding the Puerta del Sol»¹⁹. In this way, Sol's function as the city's center was unquestionable. Valued as the place where, within the scope of the reforms favored by José I, Madrid's Stock Exchange, Theater, and Cathedral should have been located, for Fernández it was there that the elements charac-

¹⁹ On the traffic in Sol, see: *En la calle Alcalá está la parada de diligencias Generales*, «El Español», 11 July 1845; *Construcción (en la Puerta del Sol) de columnas artesianas para crear nuevos medios de publicidad*, «El Imparcial», 18 June 1846; *Renovación de la Puerta del Sol y se va a establecer un tránsito fijo y limitado para carruajes*, «El Nuevo Diario de Madrid de Anuncios y Curiosidades», 16 December 1847; *La Puerta del Sol es el lugar habitual de punto de encuentro, el más público y frecuentado de Madrid*, «La Linterna Mágica», 1 January 1849; *Ensanche de la Puerta del Sol para el tránsito de carruajes*, «El Clamor Público», 19 May 1852. Also see I. CERRA, *Teoría de la viabilidad urbana y Reforma de la de Madrid*, cit.

teristic of a large city (Berlin, Paris, and London were the clear models) should be placed. Cerdá argued in his study of Madrid for a commercial axis that would connect the Royal Palace with the Puerta de Alcalá, for which reason the projects should be carried out in the Plaza Mayor, modifying its width and realigning the streets at the intersection of Montera, Carmen, and Preciados. Sol was the intersection of the streets leading from the different doors of the old historic wall, which meant that it was, in Cerdá's view, the only one – with the exception of the Plaza Mayor – that did not merit the derisive, disdainful title *plazuela*. It was there, moreover, that the important buildings of modern culture would be placed and which would become a center of modern commerce.

The area surrounding the Puerta del Sol was important in those years for three reasons: the concentration of administrative buildings (Ministries, the Royal Residence, the Presidency, Councils, the Provincial Tribunal, the Supreme Court, Governance, the Provincial Council), recreational buildings (the theaters Cruz and Príncipe; the French Theater on Magdalene Street; the Novedades Theater in the Plaza de la Cebada; the Royal Theater), and because of the transport of food and commodities that crossed Sol en route to banks, offices of large companies, and department stores located on Caballero de Gracia and Jacometrezo streets, the Plaza de Santo Domingo, Costanilla de los Ángeles, the Plaza de Isabel II and Oriente, Almudena, Ciudad Rodrigo, Plaza Mayor, Atocha, León, Prado, Turco, and Alcalá. That the Puerta del Sol was the city's commercial center in 1855 is confirmed by Cerdá's testimony when, commenting on how to establish an interior reform in Madrid that would facilitate communications and traffic, he pointed out that «in that neighborhood everything is animation».

The reform of the Puerta del Sol required changes on Mayor Street, requiring the elimination of a street housing many trades [*calle gremial*]. The treatment given to the façade on the northern side cannot be understood from the point of view of a reference to a possible *beaux-arts* composition but rather from the point of view of a

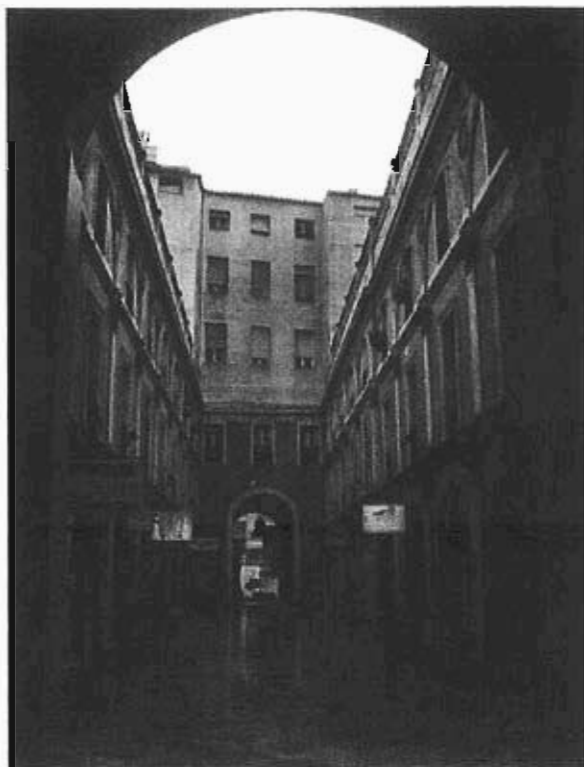


Fig. 5 - Pasaje de la Paz. Calle de la Montera a Plaza del Carmen.

Hausmannian desire to create an urban façade. Therefore, in a moment of cultural change, it is essential to keep in mind both the numerous published commentaries on fashion and forms of dress as well as other commentaries that highlight the commercial activity in the area surrounding Sol. Fashion, a reflection of the ephemeral, came up against the artisanal businesses that existed in the area surrounding Mayor (where the streets still bore the names of professions like «Hileras», «Tejedores», «Cuchilleros», «Bordadores»...) and made necessary a new type of space. The press of the time reflects the change of customs, and examples of the new mentality are comments about «The fashion that is worn these days» or others like «the Paseo de Atocha has become very popular». It is during this time that the press comments, as a novelty, on the «awning placed on some streets to make citizens more comfortable on hot days». It will be in the area around Montera and Carretas that an extraordinary commercial activity appears. There were already numerous businesses on Carreta, but within a short time these are transformed, and the *Guía de comercio* informs us that

the large department stores of the wholesale and retail company... that will open, the first on Capellanes Street, the second on Carmen Street with a display window of 33 *varas* (about 90 feet) long. Next year, the bazaar in Mr. Matheu Murga's arcade will open, on Montera Street, San Luis Square.

Shortly thereafter «El Popular» confirmed the «opening of a monster store [*tienda monstruo*] on Carmen Street»²⁰.

In a Madrid where a new, ascending middle class strives to follow the French model to find modernity and where their first gesture will be to substitute the trade businesses for the «large department or monster store [*tienda monstruo*]» – where the fashion disseminated by the press becomes a ready-to-wear commodity, in different sizes and measures, at an affordable price – the second step will be to define more elite spaces where fashion is not ready-to-wear but of high craftsmanship. The arcade was seen as the space characteristic of this second type of commerce. These new private streets emerge as exclusive spaces, imitating the arcades in Paris. As Madoz, Romanos, Fernández de los Ríos, and Cerdá point out, what characterizes this type of street is as much the use of iron and glass as its capacity to define a new kind of urban space. If the colonnades that Villanueva used in his reconstruction, after the fire of 1790, of the area surrounding the Plaza Mayor accommodated street vendors and traditional businesses and the first large department stores are placed there where the city bustles with activity (where theaters, cafés, commercial offices and government buildings are concentrated), Matheu's alternative will be to construct an open street, dedicated to

²⁰ J.E. GEIST, in his study *Le Passage*, Paris 1989, of European arcades, ignores those of Madrid.

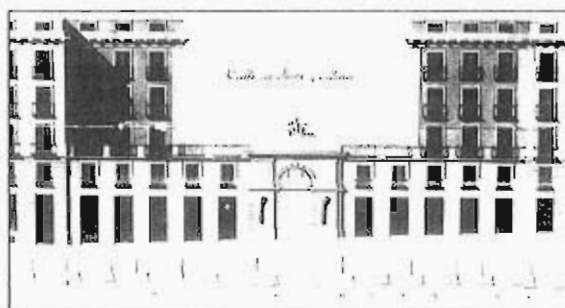


Fig. 6 - Pasaje de Muga, calle Carretas. ASA.

ones would open soon. In 1845 «El Español» comments that, from San Luis to Tres Cruces, «an arcade or covered gallery is being constructed, with elegant stores on both sides». «La Linterna Mágica» likewise emphasizes the character of the «elegant stores» when it points out that «Carmen Street was very well known for its stores which only upper-class clients patronize». Shortly thereafter, «El Neutral» writes about the construction of «an arcade from Arenal Street to Mayor, demolishing the building which is today home to the Poupart bookstore and boarding house». Between 1845 and 1850 references to the arcades in Madrid become frequent in the newspapers. In 1846 the City Council approves the construction of the arcade that was to join Arenal and San Jerónimo, work which began within a few months. At the same time, Muga began construction of the arcade on Montera Street (finished before January of 1847), and Matheu built the arcade located on Victoria and Espoz y Mina. The papers noted that «in a few days Mr. Matheu's arcade, the Villa de Madrid, will open to the public, and the Villa de Madrid arcade, where luxurious stores, lit by eight streetlamps, have been constructed, has already been opened to the public». Organizing a collection of commercial arcades around the Puerta del Sol meant taking on an urban project with the objective not only of modernizing the historic center – through the use of French-style architecture – but also of establishing a dividing line between that center and the rest of the city:

Before finishing the article on Madrid's streets, Cerdá noted in his *Teoría de la viabilidad urbana*, «we should take note of other kinds of streets which, though few in number, are located in the Villa: we are referring to the covered streets christened with the Parisian name *Pasajes*, but also called by the much more Spanish name *Galerías* and which might also be called *Pasadizos*. There are only four in Madrid, and they are the so-called Arcade of Matheu, which goes between Espoz y Mina Street and Victoria Street; the Iris Arcade, which goes from the Carrera de San Jerónimo to Alcalá Street; Muga's Arcade, from Montera Street to Tres Cruces; and, finally, the Gallery of San Felipe, which goes from Bordadores to Hileras.

Commenting on where the commercial galleries should be built, Romanos would point to the space occupied by the San Luis Café, on Montera Street, as the most appropriate place because it was

commerce, but accessible to the whole population. For that reason, in contrast to this type of open street, the third gesture, proposed by Muga, meant identifying Madrid with Parisian modernity by constructing a commercial street in the interior of a city block.

In 1845 there were already a few large department stores in the zone and new

already a place of authentic transit, though without the adornment of stores and other things. I would have this gallery on Negro Street (today part of Tetuán) extending it to Carmen Street in such a way as to unite this latter with Montera Street, which are the most active streets in Madrid.

Confirming this idea, Madoz would comment on

new points of contact [which] can be opened in other places, in the interest of commerce and the neighborhood in general. Beginning with the alleyway, now closed, from Arenal Street to Mayor Street - and which will become a street with the house being built by Mr. Gaviria - it would then follow San Cristóbal Street, with its various intersections with Vicario, Postas, and Sal streets, which could form a commercial area like the *Alcaicería* in Granada. The new San Esteban Street (today Pontejos), which later will have to be broken up to Carreras Street. To facilitate transit from the Carrera de San Jerónimo to Alcalá Street, through passageway of the Dos Amigos Café and the Iris Arcade, another front can be opened up on Alcalá Street by the Administrative Building [*Casa de las Diligencias*], which would exit by Montera Street or along San Bernardo Street.

Shortly thereafter, the newspapers of the period (from «*El Semanario*» and «*Pintoresco Español*» to «*La Ilustración*» and «*Periódico Universal*») published commentaries on the new meaning of these arcades constituting a symbol, for the press, of change and wealth.

The 1868 *Anuario* commented that the Villa de Madrid Arcade,

situated in Manuel Mathen's building, connects *Espoza y Mina* and Victoria streets, which are on its sides, and because of its grandeur and size, it is the most magnificent of the arcades built to date in European capitals. Its gallery is 164 feet long and 28 feet wide, and on both sides - on the ground floor as well as on the mezzanine (the only two floors it has) - there are likewise two corridors that are the same length and 49 feet wide. The central street is covered with a glass frame, formed by a three-centered arch of proportionate height, the total being between 35 and 40 feet. The street's decorations and adornments were placed there by the entrepreneurs of the agency that took on the arcade: its character is capricious, not belonging markedly to any style; its placement destroyed the beautiful forms, simple proportions, and elegant cornices and moldings studied by the building's designer and which gave it a serious and imposing appearance. Besides the galleries, there are in the facades corresponding to the two streets magnificent stores, which also belong to the arcade, and in the rest of the plot, which covers a total area of 3,166.5 square feet, there are houses. At the arcade's entrances there are projecting bodies - richly adorned but of a simple and elegant character - that form, in an arch, the main doors; and, as a final touch, there is in each of the aforementioned bodies an elaborate group of sculptures with characteristics suggesting commerce and wealth, fashioned by the sculptor Francisco Pérez. The project and management of this building belong to the architect Antonio Herrera de la Calle²¹.

²¹ The commentary on street vending on Mayor Street in «*El Español*», 2 January 1846; the reference to fashion, in «*La Iberia*», 5 February 1843. The note about Atocha was published on

The Iris Arcade

opened for the first time the night of September 23, 1847, with a truly grandiose appearance: it serves to connect Alcalá Street and the Carrera of San Jerónimo (at house number 11 on the first and number 12 on the second), with two magnificent main doors each. Between them runs a splendid gallery called «Madrid», flanked on its sides by two shorter galleries called «Paris» and «London», each with a spacious door that opens onto Alcalá Street; the first two are designed for stores, and the latter for a nice and well-serviced café. The construction of the stores is ingenious: the counters are made of solid rich mahogany, the columns dividing them are covered with mirrors, and the wood is gilded. The valences with which they are decorated on the outside are of crimson velvet with gold fringes and adorned with tassels of fire-gilded metal. Their interior, however, is small, primarily in the latter half of the Madrid gallery, which is barely large enough for the counter; the ceilings of the galleries, except for the holes to let in light, are covered with mirrors. On the ends of the glass vault there are two spheres that signal the hour with the same clock and lighting, provided by magnificent gas-fired lamps that are abundantly distributed. The magnificent door onto the Carrera de San Jerónimo is iron, and the one onto Alcalá Street is walnut. The doors that correspond to the central gallery have on their sides two large gas lamps on the outside part, which illuminate the entrances²².

The Murga Arcade was located at 43 Montera Street with an exit onto Tres Cruces Street: its stores have stucco arches. It was occupied by the General Spanish Business Company [*Compañía General Española de Comercio*] which established a large bazaar and, for that reason, closed the exit; but this company abandoned it and currently some work is being done».

The New Gallery

connects with 7 Espinoz y Mina Street and 8 Victoria Street, block 207; it was just built by the architect Aníbal Álvarez, with a system employed for the first time in this style and with the goal of serving as a general depot for silk manufacture, jewelry, and other luxury items. It has a ground floor, a main floor, and large basements for storage. The principal materials used in its construction are iron (both wrought and cast), Colmenar stone, and wood. The transparent and elegant decoration on its façades, which makes of each a single shop window, the diaphanousness of its interior, in which there is not a single wall, and the aerial frame of iron and glasswork that covers the center rotunda give this

4 January 1846 in «El Español»; on the awning, see 19 July 1845; on business on Carretas «El Español», 1 January 1846; on «the opening of a monster store [*tienda monstruo*]» see «El Popular», 1 September 1846.

²² «El Español», 7 August 1845 and the «Guía del Comercio», 15 August 1846 place the large department stores in the zone of San Luis and Montera, «El Español», 7 August 1845; the reference to business on Carmen Street in «La Linterna Mágica», 1 January 1850; on the arcade on Arenal Street, «El Neutral», 5 June 1846 and «El Imparcial», 17 August 1846. On the works promoted by Muga, see «El Imparcial», 24 October 1846 and «El Popular», 15 January 1847. On the Matheu arcade, see «El Clamor Popular», 22 and 24 January 1852.

building, new of its kind, a peculiar character that distinguishes it from others built for the same purpose.

As the *Anuario Administrativo* of 1868 notes:

these interior connections, so comfortable and even necessary in large capitals, are another of the novelties that Madrid has presented recently: to the convenience they offer to pedestrians, who must travel between very busy streets or ones separated by large blocks, one must add the utility of the large mercantile establishments that can be accommodated on them: the thought itself is magnificent and with immense results: the selection of the site, the execution, is what should be carefully thought out so that this important improvement corresponds to its useful purpose. To date, five of these connections have been built in Madrid: the first is San Felipe Neri; the second, the one in the Villa of Madrid; the third, the Iris Arcade; the fourth, the one belonging Mateo Murga; the fifth, the New Gallery, not yet finished, close to the Villa of Madrid. We have already said enough about San Felipe and its covered markets; now we shall treat the others. Unfortunately, these arcades have not found favor with the public, for reasons which are, in our view, quite simple: with the exception of the Iris Arcade, which connects the two major streets of Alcalá and Carrera, the others are local, completely isolated, and without any utility. What does it matter that the one in the Villa of Madrid is large and magnificent if absolutely no one thinks to use one or another of its entrances to get to the adjacent streets, which are short and easily accessible? What does it matter that a large mercantile establishment has been placed there when it is so far removed from normal city transit and when it is only useful for those with the expressed purpose of shopping there? It would have been just as well to place a common or ordinary store there. The arcades, then, lack a unique purpose. The San Felipe arcade is in the same situation, located between conjoined, easily accessible streets. The Murga Arcade has not even opened on the side of Tres Cruces Street because it was only useful for salespeople on Carmen Square. And the Iris Arcade, though useful for transit, lacks stores. We see, then, that most of them are closed, even if the café is busy because it has an independent entrance and a large door that opens onto Alcalá Street. As for the new gallery, establishments of a new kind have been proposed, which, it seems, will be worthy of the capital.

In a Spain which, around 1850, wanted to be French, in a Madrid that admired Paris and where the intellectual influence of the recently returned exiles was more than notable, it is understandable why the arcade was not only identified with new tastes but also seen as a reflection of innovations in construction, for, with the use of a metallic structure, «iron is rejected in the construction of dwellings but used in arcades, in exposition galleries, in stations». And it is on the basis of this contradiction that Cerdá explains the importance of the arcades: «covered with glass, we have seen them emerge and expand in an astonishing manner in the countries of the north...although they are open...they have not been built with the good conditions which, philosophically speaking, are a requirement when a new city is planned». For that reason, and since «we should not forget how convenient it is for the stores to have in front of their windows a

covered space for the benefit of pedestrians», he suggested, by way of a modern arcade, to place «an iron frame which, resting, on one hand, on the facades on the buildings and, on the other, on the thin iron columns, similar to those that are used as candelabras for the public gas-lit street lights. The sidewalk should be covered with blinds in the winter and with glass in the summer. In this way, each sidewalk will become a veritable covered gallery in its entirety».

Cerdá's views would be endorsed by Fernández de los Ríos, who reiterated in his *El Futuro Madrid* that

everyone knows how useful, how popular, and how pleasant these covered routes are in almost all important cities and capitals; the attempt was made here; and from its result it has become clear that Madrid does not like the arcades; if ever we have stopped to contemplate why Madrid does not like them, we have found the following answer: because Madrid's climate is better than that of any foreign city, and we have become satisfied. In Madrid, however, there are winters and snow storms, there is wind, there is rain, there is spring...our climate does not have the least reason to pride itself on being more gentle or milder than Florence's. The real reason for which the arcades have fallen into disgrace in Madrid is the inappropriateness with which they were constructed: the first thing that these covered walkways need as a condition of life is that they be truly useful: that they serve to shorten and facilitate public transit, and this fundamental quality is precisely what was lacking in the three attempts that we have made. What utility does the so-called Murga arcade have, which runs into the sidewalk of Tres Cruces Street, next to a small square into which another narrow alley empties? What utility did San Felipe's arcade have, which in the same fashion and only a few meters from a street, led from one corner to another? What utility does Matheu's arcade have, with no avenue on either end and parallel to such a major road that only by caprice would someone decide to the use the arcade?

Fernández de los Ríos' criticism of the arcades centered, apparently, on their lack of relation to the urban scheme. In my view, his criticism centered on the very idea of the city, on the desire to understand what the commercial space should be, what the street should be, how – as the City Council Commission then pointed out – to understand the concept of «street conjunction» [*embocadura*], or when to recognize that street length was not a quantitative problem but rather a reflection of the public services that it should provide. Above all his criticism stemmed from the necessity of street-alignment reform, giving all of the streets of the historical quarter a similar width. The debate about the reform of the Puerta del Sol is key to understanding the role played – since this is the language of modernity defined by Baudelaire – by the elements of urban property cited at the beginning of this article: gas-fired streetlamps, Vespasian columns, news kiosks with announcements, magnificent awnings, streets lined with the trees set in cast-iron grates, or the presence of a complex, five-armed Elizabethan street, designed by the architect Antonio Ruiz de Salces. These would go together

with a meditation on what sidewalks should be, what their width should be, how to understand street pavement, how to carry out the design of the curbs, and so on. It happens then that modernity ceases to be a vindication of the ephemeral and begins to be understood as a synonym of technology. In this sense, the Puerta del Sol's large fountain with a column of water – of which numerous pieces of photographic evidence exist – impressed Cerdá, as demonstrated by his comment in *Teoría de la viabilidad*:

there is no doubt about the superabundant quantity of water supplied from Lozoya. This supply has already begun to become a reality, and already in the Puerta del Sol itself a part of the 60,000 reales of water (194,692.471 liters in 24 hours) is already running and it reaches up to the Post Office Building. Madrid will soon have it.

In 1850 Madrid was a city that sought to define itself. As Cerdá notes,

Madrid, not being a maritime city, not having an ocean that laps against its walls, nevertheless has a port. It has *a* port? It now has two ports and soon will have three and then four... The true port of Alicante and the port of Valencia are today in the esplanade of Atocha, and the port of Barcelona will be there within a few years, and before long the port of Santander and of Bilbao, of Cádiz and of Sevilla, of Málaga and even of Lisboa.

As a result, and understanding that the Puerta del Sol was to become Madrid's nerve center – despite Cerdá's view that «a central train station in Spain would constitute a large center of movement and life» – the zone turned into a center of communication, traffic, and commerce: a zone of influence. It is from these premises that a city constructed with private capital and designed and constructed on the basis of private interests emerges as an alternative to an outdated urban order that no one defends any longer.

Carlos Sambricio

(translated by Adam Glover)